

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

104th Congress
1st Session

Vote No. 603

December 13, 1995, 10:44 p.m.
Page S-18552 Temp. Record

QUALIFIED ACCEPTANCE OF BOSNIA DEPLOYMENT/Passage

SUBJECT: A resolution expressing Congress' support for U.S. Armed Forces and its qualified acceptance of President Clinton's planned deployment of U.S. ground forces to Bosnia . . . S.J. Res. 44. Passage.

ACTION: BILL PASSED, 69-30

SYNOPSIS: S.J. Res. 44 will express Congress' support for U.S. Armed Forces and its qualified acceptance of President Clinton's planned deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Bosnia. Details are provided below.

Findings include the following: Beginning on February 24, 1993, President Clinton, without consulting Congress, committed the United States to participating in the implementation of any peace agreement that may be reached in Bosnia; a United Nations arms embargo has unjustly denied Bosnia the right to defend itself; Congress has repeatedly voted to end U.S. participation in the embargo as the best way to achieve a military balance and a just and stable peace without deploying U.S. forces; the republics of Bosnia, Croatia, and Yugoslavia have initialed a peace agreement after repeated assurances that the United States will send troops to help implement that agreement; during the negotiations on the agreement, the United States committed to arming and training Bosnian Government forces, and that commitment should be honored; enabling Bosnia to defend itself is the only possible means of making this deployment successful; and President Clinton approved operation Joint Endeavor on December 3, which started the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Bosnia.

Support for troops: Congress unequivocally supports the men and women of our Armed Forces who are carrying out their missions in support of peace in Bosnia, and believes they must be given all necessary resources and support to carry out their mission and ensure their security.

Qualified acceptance of the deployment of Armed Forces to Bosnia: Despite reservations about President Clinton's decision, and in recognition of the facts that he has made that decision, that he is implementing that decision, and that preserving the U.S. credibility is a strategic interest, the President "may only fulfill his commitment to deploy U.S. Armed Forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina for approximately one year" subject to the President making available to the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate his determination: 1) that the mission will be limited to implementing the military provision of the Military

(See other side)

YEAS (69)			NAYS (30)			NOT VOTING (0)	
Republicans (24 or 45%)	Democrats (45 or 98%)		Republicans (29 or 55%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)		Republicans (0)	Democrats (0)
Abraham	Akaka	Inouye	Ashcroft	Helms	Feingold		
Bennett	Baucus	Johnston	Brown	Hutchison			
Bond	Biden	Kennedy	Coats	Inhofe			
Burns	Bingaman	Kerrey	Coverdell	Kyl			
Campbell	Boxer	Kerry	Craig	Lott			
Chafee	Bradley	Kohl	D'Amato	Nickles			
Cochran	Breaux	Lautenberg	Domenici	Pressler			
Cohen	Bryan	Leahy	Faircloth	Santorum			
DeWine	Bumpers	Levin	Frist	Shelby			
Dole	Byrd	Lieberman	Gramm	Smith			
Gorton	Conrad	Mikulski	Grams	Snowe			
Hatch	Daschle	Moseley-Braun	Grassley	Thomas			
Jeffords	Dodd	Moynihan	Gregg	Thompson			
Kassebaum	Dorgan	Murray	Hatfield	Thurmond			
Kempthorne	Exon	Nunn		Warner			
Lugar	Feinstein	Pell					
Mack	Ford	Pryor					
McCain	Glenn	Reid					
McConnell	Graham	Robb					
Murkowski	Harkin	Rockefeller					
Roth	Heflin	Sarbanes					
Simpson	Hollings	Simon					
Specter		Wellstone					
Stevens							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

Annex to the General Framework Agreement and to measures to protect U.S. and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces; 2) that an integral part of accomplishing the U.S. objective in deploying and withdrawing U.S. Armed Forces will be establishing a military balance that enables Bosnia to defend itself; and 3) the United States will lead an immediate international effort apart from the implementation of the peace agreement to arm and train the military forces of the Bosnian Government.

The President will be required to submit reports to Congress: on efforts to enable the Bosnian Government to provide for its own defense; on military aspects of the implementation of the peace agreement; and on non-military aspects of that implementation peace agreement.

Those favoring the resolution contended:

Argument 1:

We vigorously oppose the President's decision to send ground forces into the middle of the civil war in Bosnia. That decision, though, has been made, without any consultation with Members of Congress of either party. Troops are on their way, and some have already arrived. Whether Congress approves or disapproves of his actions, President Clinton has made it clear that he intends to proceed. At this stage the only means Congress has of stopping him is to cut off funding. Senators (including most of the Senators in favor of this resolution) have already rejected that option (see vote No. 601). The rejection of this option has left us with three responsibilities: to register our total opposition to this ill-considered deployment; to affirm that we will do everything possible to support our troops who are being sent on this mission; and to attempt to mold the mission to increase both the safety of our troops and their chances of success. We have already met our first two responsibilities by voting in favor of the Hutchison/Inhofe/Nickles resolution (see vote No. 602); this vote on the Dole/McCain resolution will meet the third responsibility.

The Dole/McCain resolution will have the force of law. The President has agreed to accept its terms. Those terms will limit the mission to military tasks only and will require a realistic exit strategy based on the goal of Bosnian self-reliance. Our purpose in passing this resolution is to make it more likely this mission will succeed, and more likely that our troops will be safe. We are determined to prevent the mission from moving away from monitoring the boundary between the opposing forces and toward "nation-building" activities of the type that led to the disaster in Somalia. We also are determined with this resolution not to miss our chance to make sure that the Bosnian Government is sufficiently armed to defend itself before we leave. From the beginning of this conflict several years ago, we have said that the basic problem is that the sides are not evenly armed. The levelling factors that our colleagues attribute to Serbia's willingness to negotiate now--the sanctions and the bombings--have been removed by this agreement. If we leave in a year without having armed the Bosnian Government, we will be back to square one.

Thankfully, the Clinton Administration now agrees that the Bosnian Government needs to be armed and that the United States will make sure that it is armed. Unfortunately, before he would follow this correct policy which has had strong bipartisan support for years, President Clinton insisted on implementing the wrong policy of sending ground troops to Bosnia. Be that as it may, it is now our duty to make certain that he does not back away from that agreement, and that he fulfills it wisely. We believe that putting into law that the United States will make sure Bosnia is armed will make it less likely that President Clinton will break this promise. Further, this resolution will require that the arming of the Bosnian Government be kept strictly separate from the U.S. military enforcement activities. Those forces should remain neutral, so they should not be involved in the rearmament efforts.

We have very strong reservations with this deployment, but we will do everything in our power to make it succeed. This resolution will help by clarifying the scope and goals of the mission. We urge Senators to give it their support.

Argument 2:

We commend those Senators who opposed this decision but who worked constructively with the Administration to improve the mission. We are pleased that they have made this effort. Once a military decision is made, Congress should unite behind it. This resolution will let the world know that the United States is committed to succeeding in Bosnia. By endorsing the mission with this resolution, Congress will now be a partner in the decision to send ground troops. Congress will share in the success or blame. For us, the decision to support this resolution was not difficult, because we believe President Clinton was right to send ground troops. The decision was much more difficult for those Senators who believe that it was the wrong decision, but who believe that it is important for America to be united when in military conflicts. We thank those Senators for their selflessness, and urge adoption of this resolution.

Those opposing the resolution contended:

The intent of this resolution is unclear. One of its sponsors, the Majority Leader, assures us that it does not in any way endorse the President's decision to deploy, but the other sponsor, the senior Senator from Arizona, states that this resolution is in support of the deployment, however grudgingly, and that any Senator who votes in its favor will share in the success or failure of the mission.

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Numerous other Senators have described this resolution as being supportive of the President's decision. The consensus opinion, if not the fact, seems to be that this resolution supports the deployment of ground forces in Bosnia. We do not support the deployment, and we do not want to give anyone the false message that we do. Therefore, we must vote against the Dole/McCain resolution.